2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Fray Manuel was seeing the usual nightly gathering turned to the purposes of Christianity. 623

The repetition which causes the length of these speeches is not for the mere purpose of explanation. The writer once questioned a wise man as to the proceedings of a meeting which had lasted past midnight. He was able to state them very succinctly. "We said that at the festival a horse had disappeared, but it had been found at the house of a man in the next village who didn't know the owner. Then someone said that some spurs had been found, too, but they had been claimed." 623 537 181

"And was that all?"

"Yes. But everyone said what he thought about it."

The purpose of such repetition would seem to be an emotional one: the attaining of complete unity in the group. After an idea has been re-stated so many times and each man has had his share in sponsoring it, every man's conviction has been solidified and there is little danger of an unsympathetic minority. The long sessions before an agreement is reached have the same purpose. There must be no dissenting minority. Action will be ineffective unless the whole group acts with complete conviction. 181 623

This is the ideal of every village group and its method of attaining a strong government without any individual authority. Each man has been conditioned to agreement by the nightly recitations of the moral code which he hears from the age of puberty until death. The result is a "grounding in the faith" which few systems of education could better.

The likeness of the Papago plan of organization to that of the Western Pueblos, is very obvious, though these latter have elaborated a ceremonial organization impossible for the scattered Desert People. We may be seeing here a relic of the Puebloan occupation though we have still no means of telling how far its governmental pattern differed from that of the Papagos' linguistic relatives to the south. Certainly, the title of Bitter or Fierce Man for the war leader has an echo in Mexico.[1] The institution of the secular governor, who supplements the semi-priestly leaders, gives the Papago system an even further resemblance to the present outline of Pueblo organization. 171

POST-SPANISH GOVERNMENT

The Governor

The picture of council and ritualistic leaders without executive power, does not represent modern Papago government. That 622

[1] Cf. Nahuatl "Our wrathy chieftain" Bandelier, AA October, 1892, p. 310.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

MORES

● 181 The habits of the Papago proclaim a peaceful and settled people. Their habitat might have urged them to migrate to the mountains for hunting and raiding and, indeed, they were driven to hunting every winter. But not to raiding. Though the Apache found a predatory life necessary in such a country, the Papago returned doggedly every summer to the unremitting toil of dry farming. War has never fitted the rhythm of an agricultural people, and the Papago found it particularly abhorrent. They gave it such a place in their ceremonial system that no material profit could be derived from it. Everything taken from the enemy was burned; and the emotion of the returning warrior was that of the farmer relieved from an unpleasant task:

> Then came I back to that my land.
> I stood upon it and stood firm.
> I sat upon it and sat still.

Communities with such a peaceful tradition had no bent for developing feuds among themselves. Though each village was self-supporting, neither the villages nor the village units developed an attitude of aggressive independence. Instead, they made a habit of intermarrying so that they were tied together by affinal relationships, and they even developed a ceremony for propitiating non-relatives. In the open desert country communication and gifts were constant. Without any central authority, the Desert People cultivated a mutual dependence and maintained their society by peaceableness.

These ideals held as firmly between individuals as between villages. The Papago had no rules of avoidance which would prevent tense situations between any groups. Instead, they had what might be termed a universal avoidance of quarrelling or even the mildest expression of blame. The social ideal demanded the concealment of all feelings of hostility, so that the opponent himself should no more than guess at them. Those who voiced such feelings at all did so in a low voice "so that no one at a distance would know it was a quarrel." Open fighting and murder were so rare that many said they never occurred. The one outlet for disapproval allowed by public opinion was ridicule and dislike was habitually turned into this channel. [626] [p. 194]

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Papago society was completely democratic if we except the class division into old and young which made every one, in the course of his life, first an inferior, then a superior. Within an age group, all had equal rights and even the officials did not dictate. It was their aim to come to a decision which should have the complete emotional support of all and they were willing to take endless time in achieving this. The result was an extremely stable society, moving slowly and not subject to tyrannous changes.

Unity was not a difficult ideal, for all had the same surroundings and experiences, and all had been conditioned from childhood to the same code of behavior. It was this relentless conditioning which made organized government superfluous. People were already prepared for the necessary duties and, unless circumstances changed, would perform them almost automatically.

Unity being the ideal, no one was expected to take authority or to "make himself big". Common sense and industry were what gained respect and any attempt at prestige would arouse suspicion. A man who had been through the various purifications and thus achieved all that individual prowess could, was warned when he became a "ripe man": "Now you must always stay behind the others. When food is passed, you must be the last to take it." This was the accepted demeanor for the great.

The unity of the group was constantly emphasized in words. "We love our relatives. Our pleasure in life is to be with our relatives." The Papago, so restrained in most directions, seem, from the White point of view, over-expressive on this one point, but it is the emphasizing of a principle: a constant reminder of the proper group attitude.

The individual derives his sense of importance from his feeling of unity with the group. There need be no struggle for position for he has position which only the most outrageous conduct can forfeit. As there is no special honor for the officials, so there is no lack of respect for the humdrum group members. The frantic hunger for success which plagues a White society was entirely unknown to the old time Papago.

A good man in the Papago sense, was a useful member of the group. He must be peaceable and loyal. He must be industrious, so that others would not have to support him, and he must be generous with gifts. He must have common sense so that he would be an asset in the group councils but he should not have striking ideas which would make unity hard to achieve. He should be modest and, no matter how old and wise he was, wait to speak until he was asked. He should never quarrel or speak evil. His ambition

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

into districts, and the boundaries were fenced; elections were held. Since 1937 the Papago Tribal Council has been meeting regularly and handling much of the business of the tribe, with suggestions and guidance from the Agency. The Council still does not have the support of all the Papago, but there is more co-operation now between the people and the federal government, as represented by the Agency, than ever before.

While tribal organization was being changed, the Roman Catholic church reorganized its missions. Instead of one priest for the whole Reservation, there are now six, with two at San Xavier. Sisters came to teach. There is a concerted, yet slow and cautious, effort to bring the Sonora Catholic Papago into the fold of the church and to wean them from some of the older practices, such as the Indian marriage customs. On the surface these efforts seem to be partially successful, but such endeavors take time. In 1943 the Presbyterian missions also began a reorganization.

With the advent of war, Papago were drafted, and both men and women began to leave the Reservation in large numbers to work in the cotton fields, ranches, mines, railroads, and airplane factories. The effect of this new work pattern will be far-reaching. If the people become thoroughly acclimated to wage labor and then suddenly face an economic depression, the effects may be tragic for them as for other minority groups.

With all these forces at work on the Reservation it might well be asked: What is left of Papago culture? A few members of the tribe have become Americanized, but the majority are still very much Papago. The old culture is strong, although it seems on the surface to have changed a great deal. Many of the old customs and beliefs still dominate the peoples' lives today, not because the Papago want to reject new things but just because, to them, the old way is "the way to do things."

Yet there is no rigidity in the Papago adherence to their old ways. Adaptability seems to be a fundamental part of Papago character; indeed, existence in the desert, with its extremes of heat and cold, drought and flood, want and plenty, requires adaptability. From their first contacts with white men, the Desert People began to take from white culture what appealed to them. The white men came as allies, not as conquerors, and there was no catastrophic conflict. The Papago were always fairly secure in the ownership of their land, and no overwhelming force was exerted on them to change their ways, hence there was no reason to close in upon themselves as did the Pueblo and the Yaqui Indians. Thus the Papago were able, without deep emotional conflicts, to add to their own culture many of the values and traits of a foreign way of life. In the following chapters we shall see what the results have been.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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439 441 and labor go immediately for the import of food and clothing, but the 25 per cent of this amount which represents the retail profit is lost to the Indians."[8]

657 The Agency has proposed that Reservation stores should be either co-operatively or individually owned and run by Indians and stocked through large-scale co-operative buying. This would provide both better goods at lower prices and employment for Indians.

The government has also encouraged the Tribal Council to set up a Fair and Rodeo Board, which has constructed buildings and grounds for tribal fairs. A Loan Board has been established to lend money to stockmen and farmers.

Other improvements in Papago economy have been suggested by the Agency staff or the Tribal Council. Recently the council requested the opportunity to resettle several hundred families on Indian lands along the Colorado River which are to be opened to other tribes. (Whether families can actually be persuaded to relocate is problematical.) The Agency has plans for bringing in water to certain areas, conserving present resources by introducing new types of plant growth, and acquiring the use of range lands outside the Reservation. These plans, however, depend upon considerably increased appropriations of federal funds.

● 181 It is obvious that, with what have been termed the poorest natural resources of any Indian reservation,[9] with rapidly increasing population, and with no immediate prospects of more land, the Papago must conserve and improve what resources they have if they are to go on living in their desert country. Despite this critical situation, the Papago are not a harried people. They do not feel the urge to outdo their neighbors which often creates frustration in a completely competitive economy. Their standard of living and the satisfaction they derive from their way of life cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents, though they are coming to feel the necessity for cash and to value the things it can procure. Nor do they have the sense of being hemmed in, and the consequent bitterness against their white neighbors that is characteristic of many Indian tribes whose lands have been steadily reduced. The Papago are aware that the government in many concrete ways has made easier their life in a hard environment. This is not to say that white American civilization has not brought conflicts, has not disturbed the old ways of life. But the Papago still live on the land that has been theirs for centuries, and they do not feel it threatened by white encroachment.

And this is important because their land is all-important to them. All the Desert People—even those who leave the Reservation to take jobs—keep their

8. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 43.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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roots in the land. They always have their family, their village, their fields to return to. The desert is still their home. To most of them it is still important whether rain comes or not; on the Reservation or off it, they watch carefully the fleeting clouds and are worried and restless when no rain falls, when the desert begins to look brown, when seeds will lie dormant under the soil or unused in the storehouses. And they feel happy when the rains come—soft and cold in the winter, in sheets in the summer—for the rains mean a desert green and beautiful with grass and flowers, plenty of corn and beans and squash at the harvest, and horses and cows that are fat and healthy. 181

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

596 464 seldom asked to do so, but neglect of this obligation soon becomes known, and the offender is severely censured by persons outside the household.

423 428 596 Just as each family member does his share toward maintaining the group, so each has an interest in the means of subsistence. As previously noted, all land belongs to the tribe, and families are allowed to use as much as they need on assignment by the village or district council. Fields ordinarily continue to be used by the same family after the death of its head. All the sons inherit equally, sometimes without division. Thus, ideally, all family members, even though they are not living with the group, are entitled to use these fields as needed, but nowadays there are occasional difficulties when absent members wish to return to the land.

422 428 Cattle and horses are individually owned, although those belonging to various members of the family are usually herded together. Each family has its own brand, some small difference in the mark designating individual ownership. The head of the house may give certain animals to each of his children as they grow up, but on his death the main herd usually goes to the new head of the house unless other arrangements had been made. The tribal code of laws has provisions for wills after the white fashion, and a dispute over inheritance can be brought before the tribal court if no amicable settlement can be made otherwise.

231 868 [191] The strong attachment of the Papago to their fields doubtless dates from tribal prehistory, but cattle and horses have also become highly important since their acquisition from whites. The active life of many a Papago man centers in his horses and cattle, and they are the first interest of all little boys. In early childhood a boy begins to swing a rope and lasso stumps, piles of bedding, chickens, and dogs. He runs at a gallop, patting himself as he would a horse, or seizes a stick and canters off. Later he learns to ride, drive the horses to water, and take the reins of the family wagon. He breathes in the excitement of roping and throwing and learns to distinguish brands. Very early he knows which animals in the family herd belong to him, and he sells a steer in his turn when the family needs money. Finally, he is allowed to take part in roundups, to sleep out with the men, to listen to stories around the campfire under the clear stars. He is particularly proud of his horses; he knows that people will regard him with respect because he owns them.

231 Horses, rather than cattle, are the prestige animals. They are often of little economic value, at least in the numbers now owned by the Papago, for many more are kept than can be used in farm and range work, and a recent epidemic of dourine has prevented the sale of horses for any use but slaughter. A Papago does not ordinarily know exactly how many head of cattle he has, but he

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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knows and is proud of every horse. Cattle are merely his bank or a source of food; they are a means to an end and not, like horses, an end in themselves. 231

Together, cattle and horses furnish food, money, transportation, prestige, and the excitement of rodeo and roundup. To many a Papago a good field, enough cattle to provide occasional meat and money, a few horses for prestige, and plenty of rain would make the ideal combination. [181]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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764 woman had made and any favorite possession; the toys of a child. Food was often interred with the body. Then the house where the death had occurred was torn down, and the name of the dead person was mentioned no more.

Nowadays the dead are interred in cemeteries which are usually blessed by Christian clergy. The bodies are placed in coffins in white fashion, but sometimes extra clothing is buried with them. In some places Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Papago bury their dead in a miniature adobe house under the ground. The house of the dead person is usually not destroyed, particularly if it is a substantial one, and his name is more freely mentioned than in former times.

753 [821] But ghosts are still believed to bring sickness, returning as owls or other animals, usually at night. Most children are terrified of the dark, and many adults are distressed if at night they see an owl or coyote.

825 753 All animals are endowed with supernatural power, which they may use to help humans, but, if offended, to send sickness. This possibility, together with the fact that it may be a ghost, makes any animal a potential threat, hence the Papago fear animals and take great care not to offend them. If you imitate the bobwhite's whistle, the Desert People believe, your house will burn down. If rabbit blood touches your body or eyes, you will have sores or become blind. The breath of dogs will bring illness. Some animals are especially dangerous; the wild horse, for example, is associated with evil. Others are dangerous to children. These are only a few instances of widely prevalent animal superstitions.

Humans may escape the wrath of animals through avoidance. Children are taught not to play near gopher holes and to keep their distance from all other wild animals. Even those which are killed for food are handled as little as possible. But if one must be near animals, he may use magic to protect himself. For example, men who break wild horses take magical precautions against acquiring horse sickness.

753 ● 181 Illness can also be brought on by thinking evil thoughts. The great emphasis placed by the Papago on peaceful living and their avoidance of quarreling has already been noted. A Papago is constantly adjured not only that quarreling is morally wrong but also that the kinds of thoughts that cause quarrels may bring illness.

753 831 According to Papago belief, a special sort of sickness may be caused by letting one's thoughts dwell too much on sexual matters, although the Desert People have a lively interest in sex, and many of their jokes and nicknames are based upon it.

000 If, despite all precautions, a Papago becomes sick, he goes to a medicine

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

It has been the good fortune of the Papagoes to live 177
in a country which the white man as yet has not found it profitable to exploit by cattle raising or, still less, by dry farming. Therefore, they have so far been left alone in their native country, and besides they have even come into possession of a few wells which the Americans dug in their efforts to redeem the land. These natives are thus better situated than most of the tribes of North America.

The Papagoes are above medium height, rather dark 142
in color, and of splendid physique. The women are inclined to be stout. They are a peaceful but at the same 181
time courageous people and show much intelligence. They are hospitable, as becomes a desert people, and if 574
food is being prepared in the house when a stranger comes, some of it is offered to him, be he Indian, Mexican, or American.

In the central part of the Papagueria, especially in 177
the large valley of Santa Rosa and the adjacent Quijotoa 182
and Comobabi ranges, they live happy days without much interference from the whites. Some of the sum- [311]
mer rancherias astonished me by their extent of land fenced by wooden piles and poles, but in outlying districts many are forced to seek work from the whites, by whom they are much valued as laborers in the making of railroads, irrigation ditches, and in mining. The part of the tribe that lives in Sonora is much more disrupted; they have lost most of their lands and are largely servants of the Mexicans, doing efficient work as *vaqueros* (cowboys), miners, etc. The Papagoes also know how 177
to "dry wash" gold at the placer mines, many of which 316

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

prophet Dowie, who a few years ago made such a stir in various parts of the United States. One of his agents, a lady in Phœnix, had been instrumental in bringing this about.

[181] To understand this conversion, it must be remembered that all Indians are of a religious disposition. In their aboriginal state, while never giving up their own beliefs, the Indians have little objection to any foreign creed; the more religion the better for them. They are quite sincere about it. When these Papagoes heard of the strange teaching of the modern Elijah, it appealed to them. The world was coming to an end and they were going to get ready; people sold what little they owned and settled in the Comobabi Mountains awaiting the arrival of the new Messiah. There were from forty to fifty souls all told, men, women, and children. Ramon Cachora, who was well off, sold his two hundred head of cattle; he became the leader and they sustained themselves mainly with the proceeds of this sale. There was no white man with them. They had everything in common and their rules were strict; brandy and tobacco were forbidden. Sometimes they had services lasting the entire day. For three years they waited for the Messiah to come; then hunger broke up the sect.

A herd of horses and a number of cows, many with calves, that had come in to drink the night before, walked off again in the morning to pasture in the plains some six or eight miles away. I asked a man how long a time it would be before they returned and he answered: "A few will come next day, most of them the day after to-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

316 ing the crowd would begin to work as near him as pos-
571 sible. No ill feeling or fights ensued; they would each earn from four to five dollars a day. The miners when
515 coming home would always wash after changing their clothes. Considering the trouble of getting water at the only well, their cleanliness may be considered an example even to whites. The women are particularly cleanly, and wash their own clothes frequently as well as those of their husbands.

181 Judge Day and his family, who have been living
577 here among the Indians for so long a time, gave very good reports of their neighbors. He had spent twenty-two years among Indians, and considered the Papago the safest. "As a rule, they are honest," he said, "though there are scalawags among them, but these are discredited by their own race. The women will steal trifles, picking up a rope or the like, but the men will seldom do that. The store often gives an Indian twenty dollars on credit, and he will apologize if he does not pay in ninety days. These Indians, like the Mexicans, are pleased to be in debt, because they consider it an honor to be trusted. If the average native *says* he will pay his debt, he will do so."

854 Like all Indians, the Papagoes are kind to their children, the father no less than the mother. An Indian couple were purchasing some articles in the store while I was present; their strong and fat infant was crying continuously in its mother's arms, she trying vainly to stop its wails. Finally, I saw her, with a few words, hand the babe to her husband, a boyish, good-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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ordinary weather the inhabitants of one place can hear the singing of those at the other on festive occasions. The days were warm now, hardly any day registering less than 100° F. in the shade, often more. But climatic conditions matter less than the attitude of the people one meets, and here there was an unexpected charm of simplicity and unobtrusive inquisitiveness which reminded me of former happy occasions in my life among natives. A sahuaro feast had been concluded the day before. People from the surrounding country were still lingering and my arrival furnished an excuse for an additional delay. Crowds of people, fifty or more, kept around me wherever I went.

The Papagoes in the Santa Rosa valley are less spoiled by contact with civilization than in any other part of their country. From my note-book at this time I take the following remarks: "I have never yet met with a cross Papago; they are always amiable. In my quest for specimens they smilingly admit me to their store-rooms to inspect their fine granary baskets and other kinds of baskets and utensils, and allow me to look around inside and outside of the houses as much as I like. On the other hand, they have no tact; they seat themselves unconcernedly in a folding easy chair of mine, or go to the box in which I keep my collections and take out all the things to look at. They are always on hand at meal-times; they dive with delight into the box of crackers set before them, and are very fond of coffee."

They were rather a crude type, but pleasant to deal with, and were continually bringing things for me to buy.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

It appears that a feast at which sahuaro wine was drunk was dependent at Caborca on the killing of the mule-deer (called by the Mexicans *buro*). At the dance which was executed in a different manner from that of the ordinary sahuaro festival, the men carried arrows, and the singing was accompanied by the medicine-man's rasping sticks. The same kind of festival is probably still in use among Indians west of the Altar River.

The Indians at this place show the usual intelligence of their tribe. One young man who had been instructed in the knowledge of the alphabet by an American in Quitovac, taught himself how to read. He did not read fluently, but had almost mastered the art. Few of the Indians here can, however, be depended upon for work, as they are demoralized by the mescal brandy. They seem to employ their time between earning money and getting drunk therewith. They are no longer able to keep up their native feasts and are rapidly disappearing into the body of Mexican laborers. The same is the case with the remnants of Papagoes who live in the rest of the towns or settlements along the Altar River.

My plan had been to fit out my expedition here, but the difficulty I experienced in trying to secure riding and pack animals, not to speak of men of the right sort, decided me to continue the journey by wagon. All traffic here is by wagon, and it is easy to proceed by this mode of transportation as far as Quitovac and Sonoita, two settlements of Mexicans with considerable Indian populations in the farthest inhabitable western part of the District of Altar. Even a wagon proved difficult to

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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223 [411] The weapons mentioned in this story were probably made from obsidian which still serves as material for the making of arrow-points for ceremonial use. The obsidian is worked with a bone.

178 • 181 My camp was on the small plain on which the medicine lodge is situated, near an unusually well-grown mezquite tree, the shade of which is enjoyed by participants in the feasts that are given. In the evening spent here I could hear talking from the medicine lodge, but the old man, Miguel, who is in charge, complained much of the indifference of his countrymen, the younger generation never coming any more to the counsel house. The Indians here, in fact, are much spoiled by Mexicans and mescal brandy, and present to-day little of interest to the investigator. The same remark applies to the Indians of Sonoita, though in a lesser degree. A few, just a few, of the Mexicans exploit the Indians for their own purposes. It happens even that they ingratiate themselves by giving good advice—good for their own pockets—charging the confiding Indian for the advice. On the other hand, it must be said that the Papagoes of Sonora are in general treated with much more consideration than in Arizona. The Mexicans look upon them more as their equals, and the result is that the so-called civilized Indian is noticeably more polite in his manners in Sonora than in Arizona.

796 The great annual harvest feast for which Quitovac is famous, and to which people congregate from all parts of the Papagueria, is still kept up. It is performed in the month of August on a stretch of level ground half a mile

1/1 [of the origin of the whiteness of a man. -Analyst]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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Sand Papago

nicer disposition than Pedro, in an emergency I think I should rather trust myself to the brutal sagacity of the latter.

Judging from these two and from a third one, Agustin, that I knew, the sand people were not a pleasant lot to deal with. They were rapacious and probably merciless to strangers, whether Indians or Mexicans. Agustin was a distant, disagreeable kind of a man, whose confidence it would take years to win. According to Mexican accounts, the areneños formerly made the roads dangerous to pass, and nobody could follow them into the sand dunes to their principal retreat at Pinacate.

These Papagoes were called Híatit Óotam, "sand people." According to my companion, the medicine-man Pancho, who spent his early life in the dunes, they were not many in number and used to travel all together. He asserted that a peculiar disease accompanied by the vomiting of "yellow and green and then blood" killed most of those natives, and thought that it was brought from Yuma. The course of the disease took from four to ten days. It probably is the same affliction that is mentioned on the Papago calendar stick (page 74) as having occurred in 1851. The remaining four families decided to retire to other parts and for the last forty or fifty years the sand dune country has been uninhabited. These natives probably never exceeded in number one hundred and fifty all told, and their head-quarters were at *Hótunikat* (sunset), south of Pinacate. The great annual feast, now given at Quitovac, was removed from the Pinacate region before my informant's time—thus at least over

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

for who had dreamed of badger, rabbit, or eagle, and could sing songs to remove their power. If a rule had been broken, the ceremony must be gone through again beside the sickbed.

The Papagos, it is obvious, believed in the power of songs and dreams to a high degree. But they were not mystics. They were, and still are, a highly practical and industrious people whose days are spent in labor, while their artistic impulse finds its release in the singing of Elder Brother's songs and the composing of new ones to supplement them.

The collection of specimens and study of techniques were done during four visits to the Papago country, extending from July to October, 1931, August to October, 1932, February to October, 1933, and November to December, 1934. These visits were financed by successive grants from Columbia University in connection with a larger ethnographical study.

The authors wish to express their genuine appreciation to Dr. J. J. Thornber and some of his students at the University of Arizona for identifying numerous plant specimens. Special thanks are also due Dr. Thornber for assistance in providing certain information, particularly in connection with the cultivated plants. To Ellen Wright Castetter we are greatly indebted for assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

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In the following pages, the Papago words have been spelled according to the recommendations of the Committee of the American Anthropological Association on the Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 66, No. 6).

The vowels *a*, *i*, *o*, *u*, are pronounced roughly as in Spanish or Italian. The vowell *ï* is an unrounded central vowel whose sound approximates that of *i* in English *sir*. *p*, *t*, *k*, at the beginning of a word are pronounced without the aspiration which follows them in English; their sounds

105 lack of interest in wealth, religious structures, and
171 public works; relative unimportance of religious cere-
175 monialism and the weak development of religious leader-
ship. On the positive side, they had a highly developed
[181] native literature in myth and song recital, in folk stories, and in formalized oratory; they were greatly interested in social gatherings and were especially sensitive to the maintenance of form and custom in social intercourse. The reports on all these people give the impression of an unhurried, relaxed type of life, and a dependence upon established tradition and the old people who understood this tradition, rather than upon individual initiative.

171 The absence of individual aggressiveness, the
181 ease of manner, and the lack of a fully developed interest
178 in economic advancement, as this is known in white society, persist as cultural traits among the modern groups and account, in some measure, for their resistance to measures and proposals stemming from the white man's concept of "progress," and his interest in wealth as a symbol of status and achievement.

175 The Papago, however, with their interest in
171 agriculture and in village life, had a somewhat more com-
105 plex way of life than the typical "Rancheria" groups of northwestern Arizona, southeastern California, and Nevada,
[621] in pre-Spanish days. The Papago village, in fact, was usually politically autonomous and served as the next most

175 their mountain localities from the summer field villages.
105
796 The most important and elaborate of all religious ceremonies, however, was the viikita which was celebrated every four years. This has been called a harvest ceremony but it was more than that and might better be called a "world renewal ceremony", something designed to set everything in order and to promote general future growth and welfare (Dr. Bernard Fontana, Personal Communication).

175 The picture is one of a society of small autono-
105 mous villages, loosely held together by custom and tradition, and governed by the unanimous decisions of the older men. For the individual there was a high degree of freedom coupled with full responsibility for the protection, livelihood, and well being of the members of his own family.

181 The difference between this type of society and
197 our own is difficult to visualize. The typical Papago feels most intensively both the loss of individual action in our highly institutionalized society, and the loss of almost complete self-dependence. The welfare agency, for example, will feed his children if they are hungry, but he must abide by their rules; the Indian Service school educates his children, but he has no real control over what they are taught, or how they are taught. It is the difference between a society with small resources, and small opportunities, but with maximum individual freedom and responsibility, and a society with great resources and opportunities made possible by the transfer of individual action to group action and controls

families that hold cattle on the three reservations has been estimated at between 400 and 500. Metzler summarizes the economy of stock raising as follows (Metzler, 1959, p. 57):

> "The function of cattle for most families is the same as that of a reserve account in a bank. The cattle are not sold until other sources of income have been exhausted, then enough cattle are marketed to meet cash needs of the family until other sources of income again become available. When they have no more cattle they will start to sell off their horses."

It should be added that cattle raising is more than merely an economic enterprise. The Papago and their cattle may be compared to the Navajo and their sheep. In both cases a way of life has been developed which becomes relatively meaningless without livestock and the work of caring for animals on the open range in isolated desert areas.

The meaning of stock raising in the total economy of Papago family life can be assessed with fair accuracy because of the records that must be kept in connection with the tribal assessment of a 3 per cent tax on the value of all livestock sold from the reservation. In 1962 the tribe collected a total of $19,631.90 in taxes on a gross Indian income of $654,397 from stock sales. For a number of years sales have totalled about this amount, occasionally running higher. Owning from one to ten head of stock, most families have incomes of less than $400 per year from ranching. Probably no more than 40 families, according to Metzler, depend entirely on cattle sales for their yearly income. In keeping

461 The economic incentive in harvesting cotton is re-
464 flected in some purchasing habits of Papagos during
picking season. About three-fifths of them buy some
454 quantity of staple foods beyond their immediate needs
in labor camps. They take such extra food back to the
261 reserves on one of their trips to a fiesta, or at the
end of the work season.[1] Flour, sugar, coffee, and
beans bought with cotton picking wages help see the
family through some of the months between harvest sea-
sons. The quantity laid in is usually not large,
probably enough for only a month or two.

432 The Desert People who pick cotton also purchase
439 most of their clothing while they are at work and earn-
ing money--and are near Anglo shopping centers where
prices are less than in reservation trading posts, and
choice is wider. Many jackets, boots, and other items
are purchased at Magdalena at fiesta also. Perhaps
7 Papago harvest hands are limited in their clothing
purchasing to picking season and its ready cash of 10.[2]

461 Some of the Desert People do not go to work in the
871 cotton fields from a need for money, however. There
are some determined parents who are thoroughly con-
vinced both of the necessity for educating their child-
ren and the inadequacy of Indian Bureau schools on the
reserves. Some of them act upon their convictions by
moving to labor camps so their children may attend pub-
lic schools where they have to learn to compete with
Anglo and Mexican-American children. This element of
[181] competition is generally absent from reservation
schools despite the best efforts of teachers because
students are all Papagos, and Papago training is all
toward cooperation and good interpersonal relations
rather than competitiveness.

166 Some older people go to labor camps because there
886 is no one left on the reservation to care for them when
[462] the family goes to pick. As an old man put it, "I mov-
ed over here so my daughter could feed me." Women are
the cooks in Papago society, and this widower had to
come along with his daughter's family to eat.

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[1] of 22 families giving data, 14 purchased extra food to store, 64%.

[2] of 14 families giving data, 10 bought all their clothes during the work season in 1950--71%.

000 specifically responsible for placing farm workers, and some Papagos already take advantage of its services. If necessary, the ASES might hire, or share with the Papago Council the salary of (as does the Arizona Livestock Sanitary Board in the case of a Livestock Inspector) a Papago to contact the Desert People on the reserves and channel them through the ASES offices in cotton growing areas.

Whether placement and policing were carried out by a Papago Labor Service independently, or through the ASES, this writer is quite sure that formalizing the employment of Papago farm laborers would kick back. Probably somewhat fewer of the Desert People could be placed satisfactorily by a Labor Service than find jobs for themselves.

[181] [156] [858] There are a number of reasons for this prediction. One is the individualism of the Desert People. They prefer to make their own choices without interferance from outside authority--which a labor service would be. Papagos are trained from babyhood to decide for themselves. "Even little children may be consulted in things which concern them directly, and a child's decision as to whether he wishes to go to school or to the hospital is seldom questioned."[1] In this type of society, a formal labor service would likely be ignored by most people. However, the Desert People at the same time have a great admiration for Anglo techniques, and a willingness to experiment with same--so they might try out a Labor Service. But it would have to prove immediately beneficial to them to attract repeaters.

46 This it might not do, because of the nature of the preference Anglo farmers express for Papago employees. One Marana cotton grower likes Papago pickers because they are "less quarrelsome" than other harvest hands. Another prefers them because they are "not trying to mess up. They are not crooked," meaning they don't weight their sacks with rocks and clods. A Pinal county grower hires Papagos because they "give no trouble."

That this ability of the Desert People to get along well with their employers is a prime factor in the preference shown for them is indicated by the fact that most of their employers think them slow pickers. Three-fourths

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[1] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 58.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NV28

133 134 PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REGION.—The territory covered by the Papagos in their migrations, and in which their villages are located, consists of mountain ranges and the intervening valleys. The soil of the valleys contains a considerable proportion of clay, so that it is all called adobe soil. In the mesas or plains occasional strips of sand occur. Along the arroyos, or dry water channels, deposits of gravel are numerous. The arroyos become raging torrents during the rainy season, rendering travel impossible or dangerous during the temporary flood. The soil of the foothills is very rocky. Alkali is present in the soil in varying proportions, giving the characteristic name to the vast stretch of country known as the alkali desert. It is not the presence of alkali, however, that makes the desert, but the absence of water. An abundant water supply renders this alkali soil equal in fertility to any soil in the country. As it is, the valleys contain a great deal of arable land, 137 which is evident from the great areas covered with grass, which form the stock ranges, and from occasional sections where weeds grow so luxuriantly after the rainy season as to overtop a man on horseback. Some portions of the valleys are covered with mesquite trees and bushes, and also sagebrush, but these sections produce abundant crops when irrigated.

132 CLIMATE.—The climate is very mild, being neither extremely cold in winter nor hot in summer. The mean average temperature during the summer of 1889 was 81.5°, and during the winter of 1889–1890 it was 52.6°.

312 WATER SUPPLY.—There are occasional wells found among the Indian villages. Natural water holes are quite numerous, and by raising embankments of earth in favorable localities the Papagos make huge ponds or reservoirs, which they call tanks. These natural and artificial reservoirs are only serviceable for the temporary storage of water, and toward the last they become filthy mudholes. The Indians, however, continue to use the water as long as it can possibly be considered a fluid. In one place the Papagos have dug a well 60 feet deep, and with incredible labor have made a footpath from the top of the ground to the level of the water.

Water is found by boring at a depth of from 200 to 800 feet, but no flowing wells have yet been obtained in the territory. The water in the wells rises from 50 to 150 feet, and then is raised to the surface by steam pumps. The Indians, however, have not the financial resources with which to sink or operate artesian wells. When their tanks are exhausted they remove with droves and herds to the valleys and canyons in the mountains, frequently crossing over into Mexico.

137 TIMBER.—The varieties of timber within the Papago range are the willow, cottonwood, mesquite, palloverda, and on the southern and western mountain slopes the oak. The mesquite is the most common timber, as it grows freely on the mesas. It rivals the hickory as firewood, throwing out great heat, and the coals retain fire even longer than coals of hickory. The mesquite, however, is very easy to cut, and is handled with far less labor than hickory.

137 FRUITS AND NUTS.—The sahuaro (giant cactus), which grows on the rocky soil of the foothills and covers the moderate mountain ranges, rises in height from 10 to 60 feet, and is a mass of vegetable matter, supported by an internal skeleton of ribs or poles of woody fiber. The fruit of this remarkable plant grows out of the top of the trunk and arms, and constitutes an important article of food, the Papagos almost living upon it during June, July, 272 and a part of August. They gather it with long poles, and eat it either fresh or after it has been dried. They make 262 from the juice a sirup and a drink which is slightly charged with alcohol. Although the ribs of the sahuaro are [273] very valuable, the Indians never destroy the plant, and are greatly incensed if a white man cuts one down; but [313] when the cactus dies and the vegetable matter dries, powders, and falls away, leaving the ribs exposed and bare, they are used as supports for the dirt roofs of adobe houses, for the sides of houses when plastered with mud, for poultry and pigeon houses, and other small structures.

262 The Papagos eat the fruit of the prickly pear cactus and make a sirup from its juice; from the mescal (sweet [273] aloe) a highly intoxicating drink is made. The root, which is bulbous, grows partly under and partly above the ground, and when roasted it is very delicious, and great quantities are consumed by the Papagos. They dig out of the ground a vegetable which appears to be a species of wild onion, but they call it a groundnut, and relish it [388] highly when boiled. A very useful plant found in large quantities, called the soap plant (amole), forms a substitute for soap.

282 The tannin root, resembling the sweet potato in appearance, grows in great profusion. It contains a large portion of tannic acid, and is a substitute for the astringent barks, hemlock and oak, which are used in tanneries.

262 252 FOOD.—In addition to the fruits, nuts, and flesh already mentioned, their food consists of wheat flour (usually formed by the women on a metate) prepared in simple ways, parched wheat and corn, boiled wheat and corn, flour made from the mesquite bean, beans, boiled squash, green and dried squash seeds, beef, and poultry.

181 [464] INDUSTRY.—The Papagos seem to be esteemed by the whites in general as the best Indians in the territory. They are industrious, and are good help in mines, on ranches, in the harvest field, and on stock ranges. They easily learn the mechanical arts, and set and handle mining drills as well as white men. The engineer at the Quijotoa mines said that his assistant was a Papago, and that he was fully competent to run the engine.

[312] In practical irrigation the Indians are conceded to be the superiors of the whites, and in their domain this is the foundation of agricultural skill. When properly educated there can be no doubt of their ability to acquire the scientific principles of the art.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28

241 GRAIN.—The roving Papagos, those living off the reservation, raise only grain enough, principally wheat and corn, for their own use. Squashes, melons, and sugar cane make up the list of their common crops. Cultivation with them consists in scratching the ground with their stick plows and planting the seed. They pay no attention whatever to weeds. They inclose small fields of fertile ground in the mesas with brush fences and then plant after a rain at the right season. If it rains in November, they plant wheat. Rain in December will insure a good growth of straw, but rain in February will be necessary to mature the berry. The failure of rain in any of the 3 months will prevent planting or about ruin the crop which has been started. Owing to the uncertainty of propitious rains they obtain crops, apart from irrigation, only about once in 6 years.

Their wheat is white, a short, plump berry, of remarkably good quality. In the off years they resort to the reservation, raise a little grain, and "pack" it to their villages. Corn, squashes, sugar cane, and melons are raised after the summer rains.

252 412 They grind grain on an inclined stone, called a metáte, using a smaller stone, about the size of a brick, called a mano, as the crushing power. A handful of whole grain is placed at the top of the metáte, a part of it is scattered over the surface of the stone with a dexterous flirt of the hand, and it is then powdered by two or three energetic rubs with the small stone. The whole process resembles that of washing clothes with a washboard. The flour is caught in a bowl as it falls from the metáte, is clean and free from grit, and contains all the nutriment of the grain.

272 252 [234] Parched wheat, when ground in this manner, is mixed with water, forming a palatable drink, called pevole. Corn is never ground raw, but after it has been boiled, and the meal is pressed and rolled up in soft corn husks and forms their bread for journeys. It is superior in taste, in my judgment, to any kind of corn bread made by the whites. They manufacture a kind of cheese from milk, but have no process for butter making.

231 STOCK.—The Papagos have small herds of stock and droves of horses. These constitute their substance, but such possessions can not be large in view of the uncertainty of water. Nearly every family has a few fowls. Their wants are few, and these are easily satisfied. They are self-supporting, and no charge on the government for either food or clothing.

493 An occasional farm wagon was found in a village, but in Ki-ki-wah there were 4. This village is about 90 miles from Tucson and 10 from the Mexican line.

224 [439] GAME.—Various species of deer abound, and in season the markets of the whites are supplied with venison by the Indians. Mountain sheep and goats are also brought in by them, but in less numbers than deer. Black and cinnamon bears are occasionally killed. The cotton-tail rabbit abounds, and is in demand for the table. The flesh is white, and fully equal to chicken in delicacy of flavor. Dangerous wild animals are also killed by the Indians in considerable numbers. The most formidable of these is the mountain lion. This animal destroys young stock, and is therefore hunted with zeal by the Papagos. The pelts possess a trifling value. The wildcat and civet cat are very numerous. The coyote, fox, jack rabbit, and skunk make up a group of animals which are pests, though not dangerous ones. The jack rabbit is sometimes used for food.

223 BIRDS.—Among the birds useful to Indians are the quail, dove, mocking bird, and cardinal bird. These are trapped with great success by them, the quail and dove for food, the others for household pets, their sale forming quite an income. Hawks, owls, and crows abound. Wild ducks, geese, bittern, heron, and snipe are killed in their migration back and forth between Mexico and California. It will be seen that the Indians have many food resources on wing and foot, valuable for consumption or sale.

342 333 DWELLINGS.—No tents are used among the Papagos, and about two-thirds of the houses are made of adobe, the rest being constructed of mud and brush. They consist of but one room, and have dirt roofs laid on rafters of small trees. There is no uniformity as to the size of the houses. The adobe bricks are made in an open frame of four compartments from a gray mud or clay mixed with short cut straw or hay. This mold is placed upon the ground, filled with the soft adobe, packed firmly, and then the frame or mold is removed and the brick left to dry. The usual size of a brick is 4 by 9 by 18 inches.

[358] The Papagos are cleanly in their habits. They sweep the dirt floors of their houses, and in some cases the ground around them. No vermin of any kind was found in any of their houses.

291 [177] CLOTHING.—The men wear boots or shoes, pants and shirts, and straw or felt hats. A canvas jacket is worn on cool days or on a journey. The women wear shoes, stockings, and skirt, and waist blankets are quite common with both sexes, with the women serving as shawl and head covering. The women sew nicely by hand, using thimbles. They also use sewing machines, of which there were three in Ki-ki-wah.

181 [548] [595] MORALS.—The men were generally represented to me to be truthful and honest and the women to be virtuous. Prostitution is said to be unknown among them. This may be due to the fact, as some claim, that wives are taken and abandoned at will. Occasionally a man was found with 2 wives.

Their honesty was tested in various ways on our trip. The outfit of 2 wagons was left unguarded for a whole day when we made the trip from Tecolote to Fresnal and neighboring villages, and not a thing was disturbed. Twice after we left villages forgotten articles were brought to us by men on horseback. These articles would not have been missed, and might have been kept by them with perfect impunity. The Papagos are not addicted to

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The Papagos are not addicted to

intoxicating drink, but smoking and gambling are so common among them that they will even stake their clothing on races, either by men or horses, and on the simple games with which they are familiar.

RELIGION.—The Papagos are nominally Catholics. Adults and children wear crosses and charms. They believe in witches and evil spirits, and buy charms to insure good luck.

At the little village of Ki-ki-wah, where there are a number of returned scholars, it was said that a simple service was held by these "graduates", in which they explained on Sundays the things they had learned about the white man's religion. At the village called Gunsight 2 Mormons have been living among the Indians for nearly 3 years.

EDUCATION.—The Papago youth of both sexes show considerable capacity for mental culture. Many of the Papagos speak Spanish fluently, even after having been at school for 2 or 3 years. When at home on their vacations they only hear Papago and Spanish, which tends to the disuse of what English they have acquired. They are docile, mild in disposition, and well inclined toward their teachers. They learn slowly but surely. The chief difficulty of receiving any permanent benefit from educating them is that they are so disastrously affected by the conditions which meet them when they return to their homes. They virtually return to barbarism and all old influences of a nonprogressive character.

The boys readily learn improved methods of agriculture, also the trades of tinsmith, blacksmith, and carpenter, while the girls learn sewing, cooking, and the general duties of housekeeping.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.—During the 3 years of the Tucson Presbyterian mission school 73 Papago children have been enrolled. There are 30 now on the rolls. The number enrolled at the San Xavier reservation schools is about 20. At Sacaton there are 15 Papagos on the roll. The government school there is well conducted.

It will be seen that in the district visited, with the addition of the Papago scholars at San Xavier, not more than 100 in all of these children are in school. The total number of Papago children of school age is probably about 2,000. Their parents will exercise no authority to secure their attendance at school even when they wish them to go, nor, on the other hand, do they hinder them if they desire an education.

PATHOLOGICAL.—The Papagos are very liable to consumption and pneumonia. This arises from the exposure to which they are subject in inclement weather, as all mud roofs leak in protracted rains and a pitch sufficient to carry off the rain would cause the adobe itself to wash off entirely. Many of the tribe are pitted badly with smallpox. Children are subject to measles and whooping cough in addition to lung difficulties. The Papagos have no medical treatment whatever among themselves, and in case of sickness resort to the "medicine man" with his mummeries.

The Indians seem to be able to deal with flesh injuries, but are powerless in cases of disease or fractures of bones. In acute local pain they sometimes put a pinch of cotton on the flesh and burn it there, repeating the process on a new spot at a little distance. Ordinarily their only resource is stoical submission.

SAN CARLOS AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent STEPHEN WHITED on the Indians of the White Mountain Apache reservation, Fort Apache subagency, and the Apache, Mohave, and Papago Indians of the San Carlos agency, Arizona, from August to November, 1890.

Names of Indian tribes or parts of tribes occupying reservations: (a) Arivapai, Chilloo, Chithahwa, Kelotave, Mimbres, Mogollon, Mohavi, Pinal, San Carlos, Sante, Tonto, and Yuma-Apache.

The unallotted area of the White Mountain reservation is 2,838,000 acres, or 3,960 square miles. The outboundaries have been surveyed. It was established, altered, or changed by executive orders November 9, 1871, December 14, 1872, August 5, 1873, July 21, 1874, April 27, 1876, and January 26 and March 31, 1877.

Indian population June 1, 1890: White Mountain Apaches, 2,121; White Mountain reservation, Fort Apache subagency, 1,930; total Apaches, 4,041; Mohave reservation, 891; Yuma reservation, Mohaves, 240; total at agency, 4,822.

The San Carlos agency is situated on a mesa immediately below the junction of the San Carlos with the Gila river. The altitude is about 2,900 feet above sea level. The records of the United States signal service show that the highest temperature for the summer of 1890 reached, July 6, 109°, the lowest for the winter of 1889–1890 was January 20, being 20°. The earliest frost in the fall of 1889 was November 2, and the latest frost in the spring of 1890 was March 16.

The agent reports to the Indian Office that many government buildings at San Carlos are in bad order. They consist of: No. 1, an adobe building 1 story high, 30 by 60 feet, one-half used as agent's dwelling, one-half for storehouse for grain, $1,000; No. 2, a 1-story adobe, built around a court, whole length about 300 feet, used for agent's offices, telegraph office, several rooms for dwelling, storerooms, shops, etc., whole in bad order, needs new roof, $3,000; No. 3, several small adobe buildings in rear of No. 2, used for shops, storerooms, etc., $200; No. 4, an adobe building, 1 story high, 32 by 52 feet, used as a meat shop, $300; No. 5, an adobe building, used for doctor's office and hospital, in bad order, $300; No. 6, a new stone building, 1 story high, 30 by 120 feet, with 4 cross partitions, built for storage, $5,000; No. 7, a stone building, same size as No. 6, now building, for shops; No. 8, a frame steam gristmill, $6,000; No. 9, a frame water gristmill (at Fort Apache), $6,000.

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a The statements giving tribes, areas, and laws for agencies are from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pages 434-440. The population is the result of the census.